powder he mixes with palm oil and salt. Then he
 takes a plant called re’ (rua’) and with a small
round grinding stone, which he also carries in his
bag, he mashes it into pulp. He adds the pulp to the
mixture of powder and oil. Now he dips his finger
into the concoction and licks it before giving some
to the twins and their parents to lick. This done,
he rubs the arms, legs, and body of the twins with
the mixture. The rest is put in a small calabash
container and the mother is told to rub the twins
with it any time she bathes them.

The bone, hoof, and wood scrapings are meant
to strengthen the twins and their parents. They
should become as strong as the lion, the leopard,
the elephant, and the other “strong” animals. They
should run as fast as the bushcow and the antelope.
The limbs and joints should become as strong as
the ironwood and other hardwood trees. As to the
re’ plant one informant told me that it is meant to
“cool” their hearts. The re’ plant is a small, soft
creeper with small round leaves which grows near
water.

An omen-taking ritual follows. The specialist
is given a fowl which he brushes three times over
the head of each twin. He accompanies this action
with an invocation, saying that as he is about to
kill this fowl, it is the fowl that should die rather
than the twins. All their sickness should enter the
fowl. After this he breaks the legs and wings of
the fowl over the head of the twins and the twin

Fig. 4: Fo’ mven: the specialist
blows the tso horn next to the
twin’s ear while covering its face
with a cocoyam leaf.

Fig. 5: The specialist scrapes the
pieces of wood, bone, and hooves
which he has taken from his med-
icine bag and placed on a mat.
The resulting powder he mixes
with red oil from the twin pot
and with the pulp of the re’ plant.
This “medicine” is given to the
twins to lick and also rubbed on
their arms and legs.

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